1947

U.S.A

NORTH AMERICAN

AN1024/G

15 MAR 1947

81

AN/1024/96/G.45

Chancery W'ton
DAN Dept
995/ /47
Dated 6 March
Received 14 March

R.C. Church in U.S.A & Canada

Refers to F.O. circular dtd 0 (N1496/ -/G)
Encloses copies of memoranda
on above.

Last Paper.

References.

(Minutes.)

Report on Catholicism in the U.S. was not enclosed

Draft to Washington

D.A. LOGAN
2/3

I have expanded M: Logan's draft to ~~—~~ ask for further comment on W.'ton's para: 2, where I think M: Williamson may have little of the facts. M: W. is an ardent Catholic & his sources of information are mainly Catholic & gather, this own faith.

Transport on Canada is very interesting & F.O. might care to copy. I don't think we need print as we shall soon be having W.'ton's despatch in answer to Circular 0.70.

Northern Dept. ✓ a.a.
Western Dept. ✓ CF 15:11.
Int. Policy Dept. ✓ V.R 16/4

25/3

We

(Print.)

* **(How disposed of.)**

Dft) Chancery W'ton from NA Dept 3 Pkts.

Dft) HA Twist D.O. from Mr Wilson Young 3 Secret

9) one both ways Moscow No 508 25 April

OVER

(Action completed) 16/5/49.

(Index.)

Next Paper.

We might send a copy of the enclosure to the DO under a s/o letter explaining its origin.

Moscow City's report on Catholicism is in AN 587/395/26.

UDJ
28/3

Chancery letter of 6th March and slip of 11th April + enclosures copied to Chancery Holy See (on AN 1444/1783/45)
3rd May, 1949.

We are anxious that copies of all replies to circular 0170 should be sent to Moscow. When the missing enclosure on catholicism in the U S comes in, copies of the covering letter and both enclosures should go to Moscow. I should like to see the memo. on U S Catholicism when this has been done.

Thomas Brimelow
13.4.47.

N. American Dept

The attached single copy of Mr. Wilberforce's report on Catholicism in the U.S.A. has been made available through the kindness of Lady Daphne Straight of A.I.D. When Washington sends us our copies, one should go back to A.I.D. and both reports and the covering despatch should be copied to Moscow.

This is an interesting report, but one should again bear in mind that the author is himself a Catholic. The point in his first paragraph is important: American Catholicism is rapidly replacing the national Catholicism of minority groups and is thereby acquiring a more unified and more effective political influence, particularly in the large cities of the northeast.

The analysis of isolationism in paragraph 9 is worth attention. It is a tenable thesis, I think, that isolationism with anti-British overtones is the normal state of U.S. Catholicism. It is only the worldwide struggle between the Vatican and the U.S.S.R. which has brought the church in the U.S. to take such an interest in international affairs. As long as this struggle continues, we can expect the church's considerable influence to be exerted in maintaining the present strong public feeling against Russia and against all manifestations of Communism within the U.S.A.

F.B.A. Rundall
21st April, 1947

Northern Dept
I.P. Dept
Cul. Rel. Dept. then resubmit.

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See written

1) letter of May 31st. from

Mr. Twist, D.O., to Mr. Wilson Jones.

B.

217.

13 MAR 19[redacted]

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

March 6th, 1947.

SECRET

REF:G95/ /47

Dear Department,

N/Green 15 MAR 1947

We are awaiting the receipt of further information from H.M.Consular officers in the United States before replying by despatch to circular No.0170 of the 7th December, 1946. Meanwhile, however, we enclose copies of two Memoranda prepared at our request by Wilberforce of the British Information Services on the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Canada. We shall be incorporating in our own later despatch much of the material in these Memoranda but think that the documents are in themselves so interesting as to justify our sending them to you in extenso and without delay. The subject of the second is of course off our beat but it was prepared by Wilberforce, who has many personal contacts with Canadian Catholics, in response to a suggestion of ours that no study of Catholicism in the United States is really complete without some reference to the strength of the Catholic movement on the flanks of this country in Mexico and Canada. Mexico City will no doubt be sending you in due course some comments on Catholicism there when replying to F.O.Circular No. 0170, but the enclosed report on Canada may be of interest to you as throwing a useful sidelight on Wilberforce's first report on Catholicism in the United States.

Send me back when done. WG

2. With reference to the statement on page seven of the report on Roman Catholicism in the United States, regarding the disintegrating tactics of Communism amongst American religious groups, Wilberforce wishes to emphasise the reservation in his report that "Moscow could not create the condition but probably was doing what it could to increase tension wherever it existed". He thinks that the "Churchman" must be invaluable to Moscow in this regard. This magazine used to enjoy a good reputation, and is probably still thought of by some people as fairly representative of certain sections of the more liberal United States Episcopalians. Under its present editor, Shipler, an

/Episcopalian

North American Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Episcopalian clergyman who visited the Soviet Union during the war, it has attacked the Vatican and United States Catholics on the grounds that they foment war with Russia. The Churchman deprecates what it alleges to be the unfriendly attitude of the United States towards the Soviet Union and urges that if only Great Britain and the United States try to understand the Russians all will be well. It constantly prints items showing that there is complete religious freedom in the Soviet Union. It made considerable use of the material put out by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to discredit Archbishop Stepinac. It has furthermore attacked Great Britain, with especial reference to India and Palestine and is critical of Episcopalians who do not agree with its radical views. Wilberforce regards it as "all the more useful to Moscow because it appears to the casual reader to be expressing merely the point of view of liberal minded Americans" and therefore as more insidious than the more obviously Communistic Protestant. The Churchman is said to have a small circulation but to send free copies to people who are not subscribers. Wilberforce considers that it must receive in some indirect way Zionist and Communist support, although it publishes inconspicuously from time to time anti-Communistic items to "provide an alibi".

3. Wilberforce has promised to provide us in due course with a report on the attitude to Communism and Fascism of other American churches. Meanwhile he writes that Communists are able to profit from the tendency of well-meaning, vaguely religious and internationally minded Americans to believe that if only the United States "would extend the hand of friendship to Russia all would be well and all Russian suspicions of the United States would vanish". He reports that he has been "amazed to hear how many Americans of good-will are impressed by that line". He has also heard that several leading Protestant clergymen, connected with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America have been embarrassed recently by protests that they were Communists or acting under Communistic influences, only to discover that their names had been improperly used on the letterheads of various organisations open to the suspicion of being pro-Communist. Wilberforce was told by those who had suffered that this practise was employed to discredit the persons whose names were used although it was also doubtless partly the result of the fact that some movements, originally of an inocuous or praiseworthy character, had altered their course or had been resuscitated in a different form but still under their

/original

original names.

4. Wilberforce also refers incidentally, to the charge that the American Baptist Negro church in New York of which Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat, New York) was formerly the pastor, has been and still is a center of Communism, and surmises that through the influence of such influential churches as this Communism may find its way into other Negro Baptist churches both in the north and south.

5. We are sending a copy of this letter and its enclosures to the Office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Ottawa.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

Registry
No. AN 1024/96/G

SECRET

D.A.L.
AIRBAG.
Draft.

Chancery,
British Embassy,
Washington.

from North American Department

Typed 3rd March, 1947

3rr
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SECRET

We should be grateful if you would convey to Wilbur Fries our warm thanks for his most interesting memo.

Dear Chancery,

~~Please refer to your letter of the 6th March ref. 695/-/47~~ about Roman Catholicism in Canada enclosed in your letter 695/-/47 of 6th March ~~in the United States and Canada.~~ N.P. We cannot trace ~~that~~ your bid with enclosure any copies of the report on ~~the Roman Catholic Church in the~~ which were known in the United States, ~~were enclosed~~ and we shall be glad if you will send us ~~copies~~ some.

~~Yours ever,~~

~~NORTH AMERICAN DEPARTMENT.~~

We should also be interested to see the reaction in some New York's Protestant Episcopal contacts to the ~~Para: 2~~ the press & magazine letter about the "Churchman" the Protestant: The latter paper is, I understand, a well-known fellow-traveller, but one would not want to be the sins

Swiss Kitchen Former.

Zurich

N.A. Dept,

MH

28/3

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S. W. 1.

3rd April, 1947.

(AN 1024/96/G)
SECRET

Dear Chancery,

We should be grateful if you would convey to Wilberforce our warm thanks for his most interesting memorandum about Roman Catholicism in Canada enclosed in your letter G95/-/47 of the 6th March.

You did not enclose any copies of the report on the United States and we shall be glad if you will send us some.

We should also be interested to see the reaction of some of New York's Protestant Episcopal contacts to the views given in paragraph 2 of your letter about the "Churchman" and the "Protestant". The latter paper is, we understand, a well-known fellow-traveller, but we had not heard of the sins of the former.

Yours ever,

NORTH AMERICAN DEPARTMENT.

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Washington.

Registry No. AN1024/96/G.

Secret ~~Secret~~

Draft.

H.A. Lwiski Esq
D.O.

from Mr Wilson-Young

April 3rd

I think you will be interested to read this attached ~~enclosed~~ report entitled - "Canadian Catholics and Cultural Influences". It has been prepared by Wilberforce of the British Information Services in New York (who is himself a Roman Catholic) in response to a request for information on the attitude of the Catholic Church in the

North America

~~the U.S.~~ towards Communism.

~~The Embassy at Washington~~

thought that no study

of Catholicism in the U.S.

would be complete without

a reference to the strength

of the Catholic movement in

~~Canada~~.

ABell, 2/4

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S. W. 1.

3rd April, 1947.

(AN 1024/96/G)
SECRET

I think you will be interested to read the attached report entitled "Canadian Catholics and Cultural Influences". It has been prepared by Wilberforce of the British Information Services in New York (who is himself a Roman Catholic) in response to a request for information on the attitude of the Catholic Church in North America towards Communism.

(I. A. D. Wilson-Young)

H. A. Twist, Esq.,
Dominions Office.

AIRBAG

No.

Ref: G95/ /47

AN. 90

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him the undermentioned documents.

ATTENTION NORTH AMERICAN DEPT.

AN 1415

British Embassy

Washington, D. C.

.....April 11th,....., 1947.

Reference to previous correspondence:

North American Dept. letter of 3rd April,(ref. AN 1024/96/G SECRET) and Chancery letter of 6th March, (ref:G95/ /47 SECRET)to North American Department.

Description of Enclosure. Name and Date.	Subject.
1. Excerpt from New York Times of Feb.2nd giving text of Catholic "Declaration of Human Rights".	Roman Catholicism in the United States.
2. Report by Mr. Wilberforce on "Contemporary Ideologies & Their Impact on American Catholic Opinion".	

CANADIAN CATHOLICS AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The outstanding characteristic of the Church in Canada is the division between the English and French, a division which paradoxically enough has led to a growing French Canadian attachment to the Crown as the protector of their rights against the various elements in Canada and the United States which threaten to undermine their culture.

(1) But the Anglo French division among Catholics is not merely a separation of two cultures. It is reflected in the whole organisation of the Church. The Canadian Hierarchy consists of sixteen Archbishops and fifty-three Bishops who meet in Conference at regular intervals. In the interim affairs of national importance are in the hands of two Secretaries in Ottawa, one for French-speaking affairs, Msgr. Bernier, the other English-speaking, Msgr. Markle. Also most of the Religious Orders like Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines and what is probably the most influential Order in Canada, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, to which the late Cardinal Villeneuve belonged, have distinct French and English provinces, i.e. administrations each with their own superior and having no more contact with the other than they have with branches of the order in foreign countries. This division is especially noticeable in the Province of Quebec owing to the effort of the French to maintain the French character of the Province against the increasing pressure of English-speaking Catholics throughout Canada. Joint organisations of English and French Catholics are discouraged and Catholics are dissuaded from belonging to the large Trade Unions and are urged to join specifically Catholic Trade Unions. They are also recommended to form their own clubs and to refrain from joining those of a general character.

Even in Ottawa one finds the anomaly of two huge Churches on opposite sides of the street, each in charge of Oblate Fathers, one of the English-speaking the other of the French-speaking Province of the Order and the same situation exists wherever there are sufficiently large groups of French Catholics, even over the border in Vermont and Massachusetts. Diocesan and parochial organisations also are divided on racial lines, e.g. the Catholic Women's League. In a word, French and English Catholics seldom mingle.

(2) This state of affairs naturally leads to serious problems and makes the post of Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa an unenviable one. No man occupying it, however adroit, can hope to escape unpopularity. He must avoid, if possible, offending the French and show adequate consideration to their historical claims and long loyalty to the Church. On the other hand his chief duty (and the Holy See holds him strictly to account in that respect) is to see that the interests of the Church are not subordinated to the cultural interests of either group. The task of holding the balance between the adherents of the two cultures and languages must therefore confront the Apostolic Delegate with constant problems and the exercise of the utmost diplomatic skill. The present Delegate, Archbishop Ildebrando Antoniutti, is a typical Italian diplomat who has occupied the post since 1938. I saw him on both my visits to Canada in 1944 and 1946. In 1944 he was very outspoken in condemning Mussolini a feeling which was accentuated I learnt later because Ciano had been a close personal friend of his. When I saw him in December last he had just returned from an extensive tour of the country and he spoke at length of the growing importance of English-speaking Catholics including in that category all non-French-speaking elements, i.e. Poles and other immigrants, for as one of the French Canadians whom I met remarked rather sadly, all Canadian Catholics of every race who are not French sooner or later become English-speaking and thus swell the proportion of English Canadian Catholics compared to the French.

(3) It is not possible to give exact figures of the proportion of French and non-French Catholics in Canada because statistics are not compiled on that basis, but one can form a fairly accurate estimate. There are a total of just over five million Catholics in Canada, a figure which approaches half the population of the country. If one takes the dioceses in the Province of Quebec and the Archdiocese of Ottawa which is partly in Quebec, the Catholic population is found to be just over three million of which the great majority are French. Of the remaining two million in the other provinces the great majority are non-French. That was just about the figure which Archbishop Antoniutti mentioned in his recent conversation with me.

(4) The policy of the Vatican is clear. The French Canadian fight for the maintenance of their own culture is a matter with which it is not directly concerned. Their aloofness from the rest of the world is also their own affair. But the Vatican is insistent upon this, that the Church in Canada shall not be identified or confused with French Canadian nationalism or culture. In effect the Vatican says: Canada is larger than the Province of Quebec and the Church is larger than both. Its growth must not be hampered by the exclusiveness which is so important an element in your fight to keep Quebec French.

In spite of the apparent strength of the French it seems to me therefore that within the frame-work of the Church French-speaking elements are waging a losing battle and curiously enough it is the Irish who are playing the leading role in Anglicising the Catholics of Canada. In the eyes of the French they are identified with the English. And this is substantially correct for English-speaking Catholics whether English or Irish in origin are alike merged into the British Canadian tradition and owing to the studied aloofness of the French find little intellectually in common with them. The intensive culture of French Canada manifests itself in a subtle charm, deep and therefore not very obvious loyalties and great strength. But the protective instinct, partly religious, partly nationalistic by which they have safeguarded their civilization gives them a highly suspicious mental outlook, cutting them off not only from the rest of the world, but from their fellow countrymen and particularly from their English-speaking co-religionists whom they regard today from the cultural point of view as endangering their distinctive traditions maintained for centuries against such heavy odds.

(5) In considering cultural influences upon the thought of Canadian Catholics it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the three million of French tradition and the two million English, and this distinction can best be made by considering the Archbishop of Toronto as a typical English Canadian Catholic, and contrasting his personality and outlook with that of French Canadians.

Cardinal McGuigan was born on Prince Edward Island in 1894 and took his post-graduate education at the Catholic University in Washington. Like most English Catholic Canadians and unlike most French he feels

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very much at home in the United States. He has been Archbishop since 1950. His creation as a Cardinal in last year's Consistory was a surprise to many but historically it is a very significant event. Previously Canada had only one Cardinal. Toronto was chosen obviously as a symbol that the Vatican knew no difference between French and English Canadians. It was also a recognition of the growing importance of Catholics outside the Province of Quebec. Cardinal McGuigan has always been outstanding for his friendship for Great Britain. When in 1942 the Ministry of Information was anxious that the Archbishop of Liverpool should go to the United States on a good will visit, I was asked if I could secure an adequate invitation, and I found Archbishop McGuigan an invaluable friend in the delicate negotiations I had to conduct. He extended a cordial invitation to the Archbishop of Liverpool to visit Toronto and paved the way for a number of subsequent invitations which I obtained from American bishops. The visit unfortunately had to be abandoned owing to unforeseen circumstances in England after all arrangements had been made on this side but that in no way affects the value of Archbishop McGuigan's initiative at the time.

As a public figure he is popular in Canada and the United States. A few weeks ago at the beginning of February he visited New York and gave a press interview which was widely published throughout Canada and the United States. In the course of the interview he said:

"The time has come when all who believe in God should work together in the social field, as it now seems clear that faith in God, international good faith and freedom are inseparably linked together. You cannot have democracy or freedom without faith in God."

"Catholics must wake from their lethargy - and not only Catholics but all who cherish the liberty of which we boast so much. All must realize that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Instead, we act like people bewildered. We watch what is happening in so many Christian countries in other parts of the world but it never seems to occur to us that it might happen here."

"It is worse than useless to cry out against communism. It is

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old-fashioned and stupid. The best defense against the spread of communism is enlightened, well-ordered social action, giving proper and full attention to the needs of the masses of the people and helping men and women who have accepted the responsibility of parenthood to carry out their task in confidence and security."

"Everybody realizes there is an evolution in social thinking and action. We have confidence that adjustment will come through evolution - not revolution. We are, therefore, thoroughly in accord with everything progressive that will help the masses of the people. But we hold fast to the individual liberty and civic and religious liberty which is one of our most highly prized and cherished British traditions. The danger of communism in Canada does not come from the Canadian people. It comes from the clever, insidious tactics of communist leaders and from our own complacency and lack of appreciation of the dangers that certainly exist."

"The Church is naturally particularly interested in promoting the study of sociology and social doctrine among the clergy and people. The Church is anxious to keep abreast of modern conditions and to orientate in a progressive way the social structure and ideals of our country, while clinging to the liberties we wish to guard inviolable .....and helping guard that freedom which is part of our British heritage."

The Cardinal said that Catholic cooperative groups are gaining strength all over Canada and have had a great effect on community life.

These passages form an interesting commentary on the thought of English-speaking Catholics as contrasted with the mentality of the French. Fundamentally, of course, the thought is the same as that of the French Catholics, but the non-cooperation of French Catholics is diametrically opposed to the views expressed by Cardinal McGuigan, and the breezy modernity of the English Canadian Cardinal, reflected in this interview, and his well known progressive social views must have surprised the French Canadian Catholics, particularly as he spoke on their behalf as Canadians with all the authority of the only Canadian Cardinal since the recent death of Cardinal Villeneuve.

Moreover, the fact that the interview was given in New York and that the Cardinal referred with admiration to the British heritage of Canada should also be noted because it indicates how freely English Canadian Catholics can speak in the United States whereas French Canadians feel culturally in a foreign country when they cross the border and likewise United States Catholics visiting Quebec.

(6) There is certainly one French Ecclesiastic who is in close touch with English Canadian Catholics and who is well qualified for the difficult role of interpreter between the two traditions. That is the Archbishop of Montreal. When I saw Archbishop Charbonneau in December, I was impressed by his desire to make Great Britain better known among French Canadians. He spoke of the number of books by English authors which he noticed on the shelves of the parish priests and he said that he thought much good could be done by making known such matters as financial support of Catholic schools in England and other things of Catholic interest to French Canada which at present were little known.

If Archbishop Charbonneau, as is not improbable, is transferred to Quebec as Cardinal Villeneuve's successor, the religious isolation of the French Canadians may be modified. He has already shown in Montreal that he is aware that the progress of the Church in Canada may be impeded by sectional differences and his determination to prevent it. He will, however, like Cardinal Villeneuve who was also most friendly to England, have to move slowly because contrary to what is generally thought, the intense French exclusiveness in Quebec is something inherent in the people and more cultural than religious in character. But whether Archbishop Charbonneau or someone else succeeds Cardinal Villeneuve, it is not likely that the exclusiveness of Quebec culturally from the rest of Canada will be altered even if that exclusiveness is somewhat modified in the religious sphere.

(7) The general perspective I have attempted is intended to show that very different historical and cultural influences affect the three million French and the two million non-French Catholics of Canada. Both are united in their opposition to communism but their methods for dealing with it and with other problems differ radically. French Canadians

would certainly not disagree with the principles which Cardinal McGuigan expressed in his recent New York press interview. But the Cardinal's assumption that they would take united action with others in a common front was something which runs quite contrary to their views. For that, it seems to me, is precisely what French Canadians are unwilling to do. The comprehensive policy outlined by the Cardinal is opposed to all their traditions. They are not probably less intent on social justice than other Catholics but their methods of realizing it are different, being founded on a policy of rigorous exclusiveness, a kind of "cordon sanitaire" for Quebec within which they hope to build up a society free from those social abuses which give communism its disintegrating opportunities.

(8) When at Mr. Marett's invitation I first visited the Province in 1944 I noticed much sympathy for Marshal Petain and although I cannot speak personally it would not surprise me if the same quarters had been equally misled by Italian Fascist propaganda before the war which skillfully presented the Fascist regime as the defender of religion. It should be noted that non-French-speaking Canadian Catholics were not pro-Petain or pro-Fascist and even the French Canadian interest in Fascism and Petain was also very academic. In the practical sphere it did not impinge upon their mental isolation. It was much more akin to their theoretical interest in pre-Revolutionary France, a world, which seen through their eyes, is sympathetic but remote. This remoteness from contemporary world affairs is also no doubt the reason why French Canadians seem to take so little interest in the United Nations, and I think the best way of arousing their interest would be to present it to them as in effect the realization of the Christian tradition of international order and in conformity with the principles laid down in Papal Encyclicals. Such a moral presentation might do something to increase interest or at least remove the prejudices and the suspicions of Russian domination which were much strengthened by the recent resolution by the Assembly on Spain.

(9) But when all is said and done my own impression is that Quebec will remain an isolated phenomenon in the world so long as it can

[illegible]st the various unifying influences which are pressing upon it from all sides. It may be that it will become as historically archaic as New Orleans, merely a place where tourists in search of the unusual will be shown the remnants of the past. But it will not become so except in the face of the most resolute opposition.

(10) The reason why Lord Tweedsmuir was so popular in Quebec was not only because his personality endeared him to them but even more because one of his novels reveals in a penetrating way the loyalty to tradition of French Canadians. It describes the mind of a French Canadian who has found great wealth and prosperity across the border but in all his success he is always conscious of a sense of disloyalty to his own people and his own traditions.

(11) In any cultural approaches we make to French Canadians I think we should bear in mind their steadfast loyalty to the Arcadian ideal. They resent any attempt to separate them from it almost as though it was a repetition of the 18th century breaking up of Arcadia and the separation of Evangeline from her lover. For the Arcadian ideal which the French Canadians have inherited is never very far from their thoughts and it is as strong today in modern form as it was in the 18th century. They still dream of a perfect state isolated from the rest of the world and protected from its evils in which they can build up the ideal society in search of which their ancestors who left France three hundred years ago. Possibly if their culture survives they may still realize that ideal. It would be an error to dismiss them as reactionary. They have their own ideas of progress. To prove that, one has only to point to the incredible modernity almost futurism of the essentially French University of Montreal or to remember that the Government of Quebec alone of all the Provinces has established a Ministry of Youth.

(12) It is easy to make the mistake of regarding French hostility to English Canadians as hostility to England. My own view, based I admit, on only two visits but visits designed to observe opinion, is that French Canadians would welcome anything we do in the French

language to make ourselves better known to them. At present we seem very far away and we have hesitated to take the initiative to a closer approach for fear that it might be misinterpreted as propaganda. I don't think we need fear that. When Mr. Marett was U.K. Information Officer in Ottawa he inaugurated with remarkable success a very wide distribution to the French clergy and others of material in the French language on Great Britain. Far from this being resented it appears to have been warmly welcomed. Except for language the material on Great Britain appropriate for U.S. and English-speaking Catholics is equally appropriate for the French.

(12) In the reports which I wrote after my visits to Canada in 1944 and 1946 I made some short-term and long-term suggestions regarding our approach to Canadian and particularly French Canadian Catholics. These included facilitating the circulation of English Catholic literature and a film illustrating religious life in England, lecturers, broadcasts, etc.

The two reports have no doubt been considered by the Dominions Office and I should like to end this analysis by saying that the views I have given on Catholic affairs in the Dominion of Canada are submitted with due respect to the wider experience of those of the Dominions Office who are much better qualified to give an opinion than I am.

Robert Wilberforce

Microfilm Division
MADE IN U.S.A.

CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON AMERICAN CATHOLIC OPINION

Before attempting to assess the influence of current political ideas on Catholics in the United States, it may be useful to explain briefly the structure of the Catholic Church. There are no completely accurate figures of the Catholic population. Those given in the official Catholic Directory are twenty-four and a half million, but these are compiled from parish returns often fifteen years or more out of date. A conservative estimate would be thirty million. Some competent observers place it at thirty-four million. But whatever the exact figure may be, Catholics obviously form an important part of the population and their highly integrated organization makes them very influential from a political, economic and social standpoint.

(1) Not only are they numerous but they are very varied in their racial and linguistic antecedents. No less than one million belong to oriental rites, with liturgies in their own languages, under the jurisdiction of their own Bishops and priests. And apart from that interesting, but not very important minority, there are to be found within the general body of Catholics, numerous groups which still hold together through societies and associations, sometimes of a religious character, sometimes on a purely racial basis. It is not always easy to distinguish whether such organizations are religious or merely national minority groups, but it is important for the purpose of the present analysis not to confuse the two. Some of the organizations and societies whose members are predominantly Catholics, e.g. Italian societies, cannot be classed as Catholic organizations. They are minority groups. On the other hand some which originally fell into the category of minority groups, e.g. the powerful Central Verein, composed of German Americans, have in the course of time become so integrated into American life that they have ceased to

be minority groups and their membership being Catholic, they can be regarded today only as Catholic organisations. The movement is continuous. It is inherent in the process of Americanisation and it is apparent among Catholics because they are often the children of first or second generation immigrants. I emphasise the point because it is important to bear in mind that just as minority groups on a larger scale are being absorbed into the American scene, so in the same way on the Catholic scale, as minorities lose their former distinctive characteristics they become part of the general organisation of the Catholic Church in America. That development has now reached a point where minority groups are of little importance compared to the organisation itself which is characteristically American. It is true that Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, Hungarians, Slovaks and to some extent the Irish still hold together, but that is merely a temporary phenomenon. The enduring and increasingly powerful phenomenon is American Catholicism.

The following observations are therefore limited to what may be called the Catholic official organisation in the United States, something which is rather akin to and as easily distinguishable from the minority groups to be found within it as the U.S. nation is distinguishable from the sectional and minority elements which are to be found throughout the country.

(2) Catholics are strong in the industrial areas of the country and in the large cities. They are weak in the rural districts. In some Southern States the Catholic population is negligible. In North Carolina there are barely fourteen thousand. Anti-Catholic prejudice is generally stronger in the Southern States than in the North, as the well-known story of a coloured man illustrates, for on being asked if he was a Catholic he replied "No, Sir, isn't it hard enough being a Nigger in the South without being a Catholic too". Incidentally there are comparatively few Catholic negroes though they are becoming Catholics in steadily increasing numbers

in cities like Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and New York, etc. Today there are probably about twenty-five thousand negro Catholics in New York which is an enormous increase in twenty-five years. A map of the Catholic population would show density on the Eastern seaboard and the North and middle West. It would be light over the rest of the country except in Louisiana, until one reached the Pacific coast where the population would again be fairly large.

(3) The country is divided into twenty-two Archdioceses, 96 dioceses and one Vicariate Apostolic, i.e. Alaska. For administrative convenience the dioceses are grouped together into provinces round each Archdiocese but there is no primate or other form of jurisdiction, except a courtesy recognition to the seniority of Baltimore. Each diocese is dependent immediately on the Holy See. The Archbishops of four of the Great Archdioceses, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit are Cardinals. The Apostolic Delegate in Washington conducts a good deal of the ecclesiastical routine business with the Bishops which would otherwise be submitted to one of the Sacred Congregation in Rome. He is not a Nuncio and has no official diplomatic status.

(4) Great importance is attached to Catholic education. It is organised from elementary parochial schools of which there are 8,000 through High Schools (1650) up to Colleges and Univerities (211), practically all conducted by Religious orders with the assistance of lay teachers. About three million and a half students are under instruction in Catholic institutions. Priests, brothers, sisters and lay teachers number approximately 200,000.

(5) A widely circulated and vigorous press, mostly weekly diocesan papers and weekly and monthly reviews covers the whole country. The papers rely for their news chiefly on the National Catholic News Service in Washington which gathers news from all parts of the world. Its releases are published not only in the United States, Canada and in many

English-speaking countries but also in some of the Latin American countries.

(6) The Hierarchy meets in Conference once a year and issues a statement on National and International affairs. In the interim matters are delegated to the National Catholic Welfare Conference whose activities are divided under various headings such as Education, Youth, Social and Economic Affairs, the Press, etc., each presided over by one of the Bishops elected by the Hierarchy at the annual meetings. The Bishops who are thus elected meet every three months at the permanent headquarters of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington.

(7) Thus the Church is organised as a self-governing institution knit together in a hierarchy of authority from the smallest parish to the largest Archdiocese, in education from the elementary school to the National Catholic University and other colleges and universities, and in lay organisations from parish discussion groups and sodalities up to organisations of national importance like the Holy Name Society and the Knights of Columbus. Moreover it possesses ample means through broadcasting, the press and other channels to promulgate its views.

(8) There are, of course, shades of opinion and schools of thought among Catholics. Views on labour and industry and international affairs held by the magazine "America" published by the Jesuits, for instance, differ sharply from those of the "Catholic World". But underlying this freedom of discussion is absolute unanimity on matters affecting Catholic interests in America or elsewhere. In such cases Catholics of all shades of opinion immediately instinctively rally in defence.

(9) The attitude of Catholics on international affairs underwent a marked change after Pearl Harbor. In 1939 and 1940 and in a diminishing degree even up to the entrance of America into the war, isolationism found strong support. The Brooklyn Tablet and the Catholic World (which it should be noted was also belligerently anti-Fascist from the advent of Mussolini

to power) were typical of that element, and of course Father Coughlin in Detroit was very much in the limelight. Those who supported intervention, Archbishop Lucey, The Commonweal, etc. though at first in a minority, continued to increase in numbers and influence as the months went by. There were many reasons for the initial strength of the isolationist wing and German propaganda made the best use of all of them. First and foremost was suspicion and dislike of Great Britain particularly among a large section of Irish Americans. There were also the Italian Americans not wholly fascist but partly so, numerically large, though not very influential and easily swayed by Italian propaganda. Moreover, a large number of Catholics wished to break away from their racial ancestries and prove their Americanism by becoming more isolationist than George Washington was reputed to have been. There were, on the other hand, the Poles, perhaps the most important and highly organised racial element in the United States, estimated as one in every five of American Catholics. The Poles with their press and organisations did much to counterbalance the isolationists. They were aided in their efforts, paradoxically as it may seem, by many German American Catholics who were markedly pro-British, not because of any love for us but because of their hatred of Nazism and the Nazi persecution of the Church in Germany. The paper 'The Wanderer' in St. Paul is an illustration. They thoroughly understood the nature of Nazism for it should be remembered that many German Americans are descendents of refugees during Bismarck's Kulturkampf persecution and memories of that time are almost as long lived in their minds as the Irish famine in the 1840's and the persecution of Irish Catholics in days gone by are in the minds of the Irish Americans. The Polish Americans, who naturally enough expected that Poland would not suffer from an Allied victory, to put it mildly, no longer regard us today as the champions of their cause.

(10) The German Americans with the disappearance of Nazism view European affairs as good or bad according to the progress which is being made towards a reconstructed and free Germany. Whilst the Italian Americans who regarded the war as one to liberate Italians from Fascist tyranny now tend to think

in a light-hearted way that Italy should be recompensed rather than penalised. We therefore are faced with the usual sequel to a coalition. When the danger is passed it begins to fall apart. There is no longer the unity of purpose and action which led to mutual sacrifices in a common cause. This may seem a digression, but it is important to realise that many of the divergent elements which made up the unity of America during the war are predominantly Catholic and their point of view can hardly fail to some extent to have a repercussion in Catholic circles. I say to some extent because as I have explained, the influence of minority groups on the Catholic Church in America as a whole is negligible. It is only when the interests of a group coincides with the general interests of the Catholic Church that the question becomes in any sense a Catholic question.

(11) How far then should the European post-war problems which broadly speaking can be summed up as the conflict between the East and the West be considered as one which involves the Catholic Church in America? The answer is, I think, that the Catholic Church in America is closely involved. The Soviet Union clearly is engaged in a war against the Catholic Church and American Catholics are today the strongest and most influential body of Catholics in the world. As such there is no doubt that the Catholic Church in America has accepted the challenge of Communism, and is conducting a vigorous anti-communistic campaign, not only a defensive campaign; they do not wait to be attacked but carry the war into the open without hesitation. For instance Cardinal Spellman publishes an article in the widely circulated American magazine, the "Cosmopolitan" entitled "Do we want a Soviet Peace?" and Msgr. Fulton Sheen, considered one of the broadcasters who attracts the greatest listening public in the United States, is beginning a series on communism over the Catholic Hour at the end of January.

(12) The Soviet Union and communism in one form or another are the absorbing topic of Catholic discussion today. The press, broadcasts, statements, resolutions, in short every expression of opinion make it clear that Catholics are solidly united. To a man they are outspoken in their

denunciation of the Soviet regime. Communism and Moscow, interchangeable terms, are called Atheistic Materialism, the enemy of Christian civilisation, violation of the rights of man, ruthless tyranny in the countries under its control, as bad or worse than Nazism, and the relentless persecutor of all religion particularly Catholics in the Balkans, Poland and the Ukraine. This is by no means an exaggerated reflection of American Catholic opinion. Conditions in Poland, Italy, the Balkans, Hungary and elsewhere are intimately linked with the communistic campaign and millions of American Catholics of these and other ancestries rally to the anti-Communistic standard.

(13) The outcry against the trial of Archbishop Stepinac was instantaneous. It was immediately denounced and is still being denounced in every Catholic paper and from every platform by every organization from the smallest to the most important as the work of Moscow. It affords an example of the speed with which Catholic opinion can be aroused. Stepinac has been adopted as a hero. A new Catholic school to be built at enormous expense in the New York Archdiocese is to be called the Stepinac school. He is a symbol of communistic persecution. It is also interesting to note that it was an American, the Bishop of St. Augustine, Florida, Msgr. Hurley, who was appointed by the Pope as his special nuncio in Yugoslavia before the trial. Examples could be multiplied but it is necessary only to record the fact. Anger which is being aroused among American Catholics at every new case of communistic persecution of the Catholic Church can hardly be exaggerated and the same thing of course applies to Canada.

(14) Catholics are also probably the most active element in opposing the spread of communism in the ranks of organized Labour where they are very powerful, and wherever Catholic influence is strong enough it is instrumental in keeping communism in check, for they consider that communist infiltration in America is a real danger to American institutions, a view reinforced by articles and speeches of Mr. Budenz, formerly editor of the Daily Worker, whose writings have been syndicated in the American press and whose book

revealing communistic tactics is about to be published.

(15) In these circumstances it is not surprising that Moscow regards the Catholic Church in America as its foremost enemy. Impervious to communistic influences and impregnable to direct assault because of the solidarity of its organisation, the only tactics open to Moscow would appear to be indirect attack through anti-Catholic elements in the United States. There is no lack of such material but naturally such a campaign would not be conducted in a way which would make it easy to obtain evidence. But it is fairly obvious that the recrudescence of religious prejudice, bigotry and intolerance recently lamented by President Truman and others is indirectly fostered by communistic intrigue or supported by funds emanating from Moscow. Communistic influence would not have been strong enough to create these conditions, but given the existence of religious divisions and antipathies always latent in America, it would not be difficult and it would certainly be advantageous for the communists, to use them to weaken what otherwise might be a more united Christian front. The fact is that religious divisions not only between Catholics and non-Catholics but between religious denominations and racial groups generally have become markedly more acute since the end of the war. In New York they are so bad that the late Mayor set up a "Committee on Unity" consisting of a Protestant as chairman, a Catholic and Jewish representative and a representative of the Negro population. The committee has been continued by the present Mayor.

(16) I should not be surprised if the constant accusations of Fascism made against the Catholic Church in America in some liberal and radical quarters were inspired by communists . Though beginning to wear a little thin, Fascism is a useful catchword because it rallies anti-Catholic feeling and in a body composed of so many elements as the Catholic Church in America it cannot be difficult to find instances to substantiate any charges. As applied to the Church in America as an organisation, however, the epithet Fascist is fantastic. As the late Archbishop of Chicago once remarked "the Church in America is essentially a Church of the working man". The average priest and Bishop is the son of working people. The congregations are chiefly

composed not of privileged classes but of the lower middle and labouring classes, practical and robust freedom loving type of men and women who generally object in principle rather too much to any Government controls, inclining temperamentally to individualism than to any form of State socialism.

In my many conversations with American Catholics from policemen to Cardinals, I have found a unanimous conviction that the American form of Government is the best in the world, which all arguments from the point of view of a convinced and ardent monarchist have failed to shake. But Fascism is a useful slogan and the sympathy of American Catholics for Franco in the civil war lends colour to the charge, although that sympathy has nothing to do with the Spanish form of Fascism but was caused from the belief that he had saved the Church in Spain from destruction by communism dictated from Moscow.

(17) The official aloofness of the Catholic Church from conflicting ideologies is rather strikingly illustrated in the annual statements of the American Bishops from 1939 to 1946. These statements reflect the mind of the Church in America. With meticulous care they avoid anything which could be interpreted as favouring sectional opinion among Catholics and anything which might embarrass the administration's foreign policy and the American character of the Church in the United States is strongly emphasised. Read today they afford a valuable criterion of the strength of the whole organised Catholic Church and the relative weakness of even the larger of sectional interests within it. Italian Fascism during the war must have done all it could to capture the moral influence of the Church in America for its own purposes but there is no indication, quite the contrary, in these annual pronouncements, that the Bishops were in the slightest degree influenced by pressure from Fascist or any other quarters. Year by year they continue to apply moral principles to the circumstances of the times with amazing detachment. When one remembers the heat of the controversies during those years, the apparent indifference of the Bishops to the popularity or unpopularity of their views is impressive. For instance when Russia entered the war

the isolationists raised the cry that Catholics should not wage war on the side of the communists. That at the time was a very acute question. Russia was intensely disliked. The Bishops that year took up the point as a moral problem affecting the consciences of Catholics. In a coldly objective spirit they distinguished between the people of Russia and their Government and disposed of the objection as though it was being raised as an abstract question in a lecture on moral theology. Throughout the war the Bishops probably kept in closer touch with the Holy See than was generally realised at the time, but however that may be there certainly is nothing in the statements which would not have been heartily approved by the Vatican. So far, therefore, as external pressure is concerned, although attempts to use the Catholic Church in America for this or that vested interest must have occurred during the war and are no doubt being still attempted, my own view is that it is singularly immune to such influences. This is not surprising, indeed it becomes obvious when one remembers the diverse elements which comprise it, Negro and White, German and Pole, Italian and Austrian, Capital and Labour. Mr. Henry Ford II and Mr. Philip Murray may any day find themselves sitting next to one another in a Catholic Church. It is therefore very unlikely that the Bishops will espouse any sectional causes put forward by any "pressure group" in its own interest either within or outside the United States.

(18) On the Spanish question, whilst Catholic views differ sharply on France they are united in opposition to any attempt by other countries to oust him. The United Nations' resolution is ridiculed as fubile interference and denounced as an example of the hypocrisy of Moscow and the Communist dominated Polish Government. At the time of the civil war, American Catholics were solidly behind Franco. The majority still consider that he saved Spain from Russian communism. Although he has lost much of the prestige which he had at that time, the present opposition to him has tended to revive it slightly as the United Nations' resolution is interpreted as Russian inspired and anti-religious. The pastoral of the Spanish Bishops giving the numbers of priests, nuns and others killed during the civil war in Spain is frequently referred to in the American Catholic press. This

may lead American Catholics to believe that conditions in Spain are likely to improve by a process of social evolution which will adjust the balance of power now unduly exercised by Franco and bring to Spain a Government closer to that of Salazar in Portugal for which there seems to be general admiration. It made a deep impression on American Catholics and the accounts of recent social reforms, etc. reported in the Catholic press are very different from the picture given in the non-Catholic press. It should also be remembered in connection with Catholic feeling not only towards Spain but towards France, Italy and other Mediterranean countries, how intertwined they are with the Catholic cultural heritage. Thus it is that Italy today is regarded not only by Italian Americans but by American Catholics generally rather as a friend than a recent enemy and Premier de Gasperi receives a triumphal welcome in New York even before the Italian Peace Treaty is signed. One could search in vain for the cause of such a phenomenon. It arises spontaneously more from emotion than reason. Its mainspring is deeper and more subtle than any organised propaganda can be expected to manipulate.

(19) Affairs of the United Nations are discussed in most Catholic schools, its proceedings being followed with attention and reported in the Catholic press whenever anything affecting Catholic interests is under discussion. The movement for International Peace of which Cardinal Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago is Chairman, is growing in importance and the same applies to the Catholic Association for International Peace which is part of that campaign. Catholic support of the United Nations is based on moral foundations. The Organisation it is hoped will be the realisation of the Christian ideal of world fellowship. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has an accredited representative to the United Nations with an office in New York.

(20) This Report would be incomplete without referring to the Vatican. The influence of the Vatican on American Catholic opinion is far reaching. The Pope's speeches and encyclicals are fully reported in not only the Catholic press but often textually in papers like the New York Times. Discussion on social, economic and international questions centres round Papal encyclicals. Their principles are applied to particular circumstances, e.g. on Labour.

They are published and sold at Church doors by the thousands at a nominal price. The personality of the present Pope also enhances the prestige of the Papacy. He is the first Pope who has visited America. During his tour of the United States as Cardinal Secretary of State in 1937, he toured the country under the guidance of Cardinal Spellman, then Assistant Bishop of Boston, visiting the chief Archbishops and Bishops and meeting thousands of Americans. He is therefore widely known and his leadership is consequently more personal than it would otherwise be. But quite apart from that, the authority of the Papacy in the United States can hardly be exaggerated. It is indeed the key to Catholic opinion. Any direction given from the Vatican is immediately reflected in the minds of American Catholics and it is ultimately the most important factor in the formation of American Catholic opinion.

(21) Finally I should mention that as the Church has become more and more American in character, so American Catholics are being drawn into the main current of the English American tradition, linguistically, historically and culturally. As Poland, Italy, Austria, Ireland and other countries from Hungary, which the Catholic population sprang recede in importance with the process of Americanization, England takes their place as the link with Europe which we have always been in the eyes of Americans of the Puritan tradition. The importance of this from a cultural point of view it is hardly necessary to point out. It is obviously a movement which we should encourage as much as we can and it can be expedited by strengthening the cultural relations between English and American Catholics as a bridge to wider associations. Illustrations of the kind of thing which can be done with great advantage are visits such as that of the President of Fordham University to England during the war and of Cardinal Griffin last year to the United States. It would be wise not to overlook these and other possibilities when cultural policy is being considered and I should be glad to make suggestions at any time if my advice is needed.

Robert Wilberforce

FEB 2 1947
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CATHOLICS DRAFT HUMAN-RIGHTS AIM

Declaration Sets Forth Four Categories, Person, Family, State and the World

COPIES ARE SENT TO U. N.

Benefits for All Peoples Urged —Living Wage, Bargaining Among the Proposals

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1—A "Declaration of Human Rights," drafted by a committee appointed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, was made public here today as copies were sent to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights, of which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is chairman.

Divided into four parts, the declaration deals with the Rights of the Human Person, the Rights Pertaining to the Family, the Domestic Rights of States and the Rights of States in the International Community.

The preamble states that "God, the Creator of the human race, has charged man with obligations arising from his personal dignity, from his immortal destiny and from his relationships as a social being." It declares that these "obligations and rights" are "the substance of the natural moral law."

Pointing out that "the unity of the human race under God is not broken by geographical divisions or by diversity of civilization, culture or economy," the Declaration calls for "use of the world's resources by all peoples."

Among rights of the individual are listed "freedom of expression, information and communication," "association and peaceable assembly," "to work and choose one's occupation," "personal ownership," "a living wage," "collective bargaining" and "to associate by industries and professions to obtain economic justice and the general welfare."

In the observance of all the rights set forth, the Declaration called for "discharge of fundamental obligations" as consonant with the dignity of man, with the family as the natural and fundamental group unit of society, and with the political authority entrusted by God to the nations and the human family of world society.

The drafting committee comprised bishops, priests, theologians and laymen, chosen by the Conference which gives expression on Catholic policy in America for the Hierarchy.

The text of the Declaration is as follows:

A Declaration of Human Rights

GENERAL PREAMBLE

God, the Creator of the human race, has charged man with obligations arising from his personal dignity, from his immortal destiny, and from his relationships as a social being. These obligations are in reference to the Creator, to himself, to his family and fellowmen, to the State and to the community of States. For the fulfillment of these obligations man is endowed with certain natural, inalienable rights. These obligations and rights form the substance of the natural moral law which can be known by reason.

Obligations and rights are correlative. At all times the obligation to respect the rights of others operates against the arbitrary use of rights.

Suitable opportunity to discharge fundamental obligations in the various and separate situations of life is a right which cannot be justly denied. For man's others and to limitations in the interest of the general welfare.

(15) The right to a living wage.

(16) The right to collective bargaining.

(17) The right to associate by industries and professions to obtain economic justice and the general welfare.

(18) The right to assistance from society, if necessary from the State, in distress of person or family.

Part II

THE RIGHTS PERTAINING TO THE FAMILY

PREAMBLE

The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights antecedent to all positive law. The family does not exist for the State, but on the other hand is not independent.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to marry, to establish a home and beget children.

(2) The right to economic security sufficient for the stability and independence of the family.

(3) The right to the protection of maternity.

(4) The right to educate the children.

(5) The right to maintain, if necessary by public protection and assistance, adequate standards of child welfare within the family circle.

(6) The right to assistance, through community services in the education and care of the children.

(7) The right to housing adapted to the needs and functions of family life.

(8) The right to immunity of the home from search and trespass.

(9) The right to protection against immoral conditions in the community.

Part III

THE DOMESTIC RIGHTS OF STATES

PREAMBLE

Political authority is entrusted by God to nations, which are endowed with rights and charged with the obligation of establishing justice, of promoting the general welfare of their citizens and of cooperating with other nations in furthering the universal welfare of mankind.

It is the right of all peoples that are capable of self-government to organize politically and to function as States upon equal terms with other States.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to enact just laws binding in conscience.

(2) The right to establish courts of justice and to enforce the observance of law with adequate sanctions.

(3) The right to demand of its citizens respect for the rights of minorities.

(4) The rights to tax by adequate and equitable means in order to carry out its proper functions.

(5) The right to exercise eminent domain when demanded by the common welfare.

(6) The right to require that its people receive an education suitable for citizenship.

(7) The right to defend itself against domestic violence.

(8) The right to watch over, stimulate, restrain and order the private activities of individuals and groups in the degree that is necessary for the common good.

(9) The right to regulate operations of international economic groups functioning within its own boundaries.

(10) The right to adopt in time of emergency special measures necessary for the common good.

Part IV

THE RIGHTS OF STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

PREAMBLE

The human family constitutes an organic unity or a world society.

The States of the world have the right and the duty to associate and to organize in the international community for their common welfare.

The indispensable foundation of all peaceful intercourse among nations and an essential condition

occupation," "personal ownership," "a living wage," "collective bargaining" and "to associate by industries and professions to obtain economic justice and the general welfare."

In the observance of all the rights set forth, the Declaration called for "discharge of fundamental obligations" as consonant with the dignity of man, with the family as the natural and fundamental group unit of society, and with the political authority entrusted by God to the nations and the human family of world society.

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GENERAL PREAMBLE

God, the Creator of the human race, has charged man with obligations arising from his personal dignity, from his immortal destiny, and from his relationships as a social being. These obligations are in reference to the Creator, to himself, to his family and fellowmen, to the State and to the community of States. For the fulfillment of these obligations man is endowed with certain natural, inalienable rights. These obligations and rights form the substance of the natural moral law which can be known by reason.

Obligations and rights are correlative. At all times the obligation to respect the rights of others operates against the arbitrary use of rights.

Suitable opportunity to discharge fundamental obligations in the various and separate situations of life is a right which cannot be justly denied. For man's use God has provided the basic resources of this world.

The unity of the human race under God is not broken by geographical distance or by diversity of civilization, culture and economy, and the adequate use of the world's resources by all peoples is not to be denied because of these factors.

Weakness resulting from conquest or imperfection in governmental organization should not be used as a pretext to reject the fundamental rights of man or to impede their legitimate exercise.

The order of rights outlined below progresses through the individual, the family, the State and the community of States.

Part I

THE RIGHTS OF THE HUMAN PERSON

PREAMBLE

The dignity of man, created in the image of God, obligates him to live in accordance with law imposed by God. Consequently, he is endowed as an individual and as a member of society with rights which are inalienable.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to life and bodily integrity from the moment of conception, regardless of physical or mental condition, except in just punishment for crime.

(2) The right to serve and worship God in private and in public.

(3) The right to religious formation through education and association.

(4) The right to personal liberty under just law.

(5) The right to the equal protection of just law regardless of sex, nationality, color or creed.

(6) The right to freedom of expression, of information and of communication in accordance with truth and justice.

(7) The right to choose and freely to maintain a state of life, married or single, lay or religious.

(8) The right to education suitable for the maintenance and development of man's dignity as a human person.

(9) The right to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

(10) The right to a nationality.

(11) The right of access to the means of livelihood, by migration when necessary.

(12) The right of association and peaceable assembly.

(13) The right to work and choose one's occupation.

(14) The right to personal ownership, use and disposal of property subject to the rights of

welfare of mankind.

It is the right of all peoples that are capable of self-government to organize politically and to function as States upon equal terms with other States.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to enact just laws binding in conscience.

(2) The right to establish courts of justice and to enforce the observance of law with adequate sanctions.

(3) The right to demand of its citizens respect for the rights of minorities.

(4) The rights to tax by adequate and equitable means in order to carry out its proper functions.

(5) The right to exercise eminent domain when demanded by the common welfare.

(6) The right to require that its people receive an education suitable for citizenship.

(7) The right to defend itself against domestic violence.

(8) The right to watch over, stimulate, restrain and order the private activities of individuals and groups in the degree that is necessary for the common good.

(9) The right to regulate operations of international economic groups functioning within its own boundaries.

(10) The right to adopt in time of emergency special measures necessary for the common good.

Part IV

THE RIGHTS OF STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

PREAMBLE

The human family constitutes an organic unity or a world society.

The States of the world have the right and the duty to associate and to organize in the international community for their common welfare.

The indispensable foundation of all peaceful intercourse among nations and an essential condition of juridical relations among them are common trust and respect for the plighted word. Treaties and agreements must not be considered subject to arbitrary unilateral repudiation.

Every State has certain fundamental rights in the international community.

Among these rights are:

(1) The right to exist as a member of the international community and to be protected in its national life and integrity against acts of aggression by any other State or States.

(2) The right to independence in the determination of its own domestic and foreign policies in accordance with the principles of morality, and subject to the obligations of international law.

(3) The right to juridical equality with other States in the family of nations.

(4) The right to membership in the organized international community and to the benefits of international cooperation.

(5) The right to the assistance of the international community in securing the fulfillment of the terms of a just treaty or agreement.

(6) The right to obtain from the international community redress of grievances arising from unjust treaties imposed by force.

(7) The right to the revision of treaties which are no longer in accord with fundamental justice.

(8) The right to recourse to the procedures of pacific settlement established by the international community for disputes which diplomatic negotiations have failed to settle.

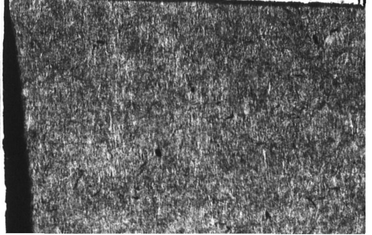
(9) The right to maintain political, economic and social intercourse with other States upon equal terms.

(10) The right of access, upon equal terms, to the markets and raw materials of the world necessary for its own life as a people.

(11) The right to protect its own natural resources and economic life from unjust exploitation.

(12) The right to the assistance of the international community in time of economic or social distress.

(13) The right to grant asylum to refugees from injustice.



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Dominions Office,
Downing Street. 113 2/6
31st May, 1947.

D.O.ref: G. 2060/2.
F.O.ref: AN. 1024/96/G.

AN1024

3 JUN 1947

SECRET.

Dear Wilson-Young,

Canadian Catholics and Cultural Influences.

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd April enclosing a report by Wilberforce on this subject, which we have read with much interest.

Yours sincerely,

H.A. Tweedy

I.A.D. WILSON-YOUNG, ESQ.
FOREIGN OFFICE.

26

AN

1947

UNITED STATES

114

AN 1165
6 MAR 47

United States - Mexico Catholic Relations.

Registry Number: AN1165/96/45

FROM Chancery, Washington.

No. to AN Dept.

Dated 18th. March, 1947.

Received in Registry. 26th. March, 1947.

Refers to Chancery letter of 6th. March, (AN 1024/96/G). Encloses copy of an additional memorandum by Mr. Wilberforce, together with copies of publications referred to in concluding paragraph.

(Copied Mexico City).

Last Paper.

AN1024

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

In his recent "ideological" despatch Mr. Bateman reported the great strides made by the Catholic Church in Mexico in the last few years since the Govt. assumed a liberal policy of religious tolerance. It is interesting to see the number of Mexican priests who have been trained in the States.

C. Hoyer Millar
1/4
(C.D. Wiggin.)

Western 1720:IV.
S.C/Bur.B. 2/4.
Northern Dept. 2/4
L.A.D. 2/5
A.D. 2/5
F.O.P. 2.5.47

This should be read in conjunction with Mr. Bateman's despatch at AN 587/385/24

Chancery 1/4

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

AN/1237

AN

115

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

March 18th, 1947.

AN 1135

26 MAR 19 47

SECRET

Dear Department,

In continuation of our letter of the 6th March we now enclose herein copy of an additional memorandum by Wilberforce; in this case on United States - Mexican Catholic Relations. We also enclose copies of the publications referred to in the concluding paragraph of Wilberforce's paper.

We are sending a copy of this letter and of Wilberforce's memorandum to H.M.Embassy at Mexico City.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

North American Department,

Foreign Office,

LONDON, S.W.1.

Secret

UNITED STATES - MEXICAN CATHOLIC RELATIONS

From what I have been able to gather from American Catholics interested in Latin America and from Mexican Catholics with whom Mr. Marett has put me in touch, the relations between Mexican and American Catholics have become closer since the years of persecution. Before that time American Catholics visited Mexico merely as tourists. Little intercourse existed and certainly none was organized to strengthn understanding between American and Mexican Catholics.

(1) The steadily increasing commerical and financial interests of the United States were reflected religiously. Thus Mexican Catholics suspect that the activities of American Protestant missionaries are linked with American commercial interests. They also suspected that the Anti-Clerical Mexican Government assisted Protestant missionary activities with the hope of weakening the Catholic Church. As evidence of this I was told that some of the Protestant propaganda had been traced to the Mexican Government printer (the counterpart, I suppose, of our Stationery Office).

(2) One of the persons well fitted to give a judgment with whom I discussed American-Mexican Catholic links, told me that there was much more general intercourse than specifically on Catholic lines. He thought that the United States, in formulating its cultural policy with Latin America, paid attention to Catholic opinion in Brazil, the Argentine and other South American Republics but was apt rather to overlook Mexican Catholic opinion. That may, I suppose, have arisen from the difficulty of doing anything in that direction owing to the Mexican Government's hostility to Catholics. But when the conversation turned on to the subject of exchanges of visitors able to lecture, etc. the opinion expressed was that it might be useful if it was not expressly announced as a cultural interchange between Catholics. That could be achieved better without emphasizing it as such. It was also made clear that the same would apply to exchanges of visits between English and American Catholics. I was interested to learn that visits of this kind had already taken place between Canadian, expecially French Canadian, and Mexican Catholics. In any case it was impressed upon

[illegible]hat the influence of such visits so far as Mexico is concerned at present cannot be expected to extend beyond the small elite of educated Catholics of the Upper classes.

(3) The most important cultural influence in American-Mexican Catholic relations is unquestionably the Mexican Pontifical Seminary which was established just over the border in the United States during the persecution. The cost of this has chiefly been borne by the United States Hierarchy though the Mexican Bishops also contribute. It has had the twofold effect of turning out priests who go back to Mexico as Ambassadors of goodwill for the United States and it has created a very friendly feeling among Mexican Catholics towards American Catholics who are grateful for this help which was first given during the very difficult years of persecution when the education of priests would have been difficult. It seems a little doubtful how long the United States Hierarchy will be able to continue to finance the Seminary. At present there are four hundred Mexican students for the priesthood studying there and if it continues to exist, it can hardly fail to have a profound influence in bringing the Catholics of the two countries nearer together.

When the idea was first suggested the Mexican Bishops were, I understand, rather sceptical because they feared that the training over the border would unfit Mexican priests for work in their own country but they have been delighted by the successful way priests from the Seminary have carried on their work in Mexico on their return.

I enclose a book which a Mexican Catholic gave me on the question of Protestantism in Mexico and two pamphlets by Dr. Pattee on Catholics in Latin America.

Robert Wilberforce - March 10th, 1947.

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UNITED STATES

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FROM Church of England Council on Foreign Relations

No. O.C. 112.

Dated

Received in Registry } 2nd. April, 1947.

Position of the Russian Orthodox Church in U.S.

Report quoting press extracts concerning messages exchanged between Metropolitan Theophilus and the Patriarch.

Last Paper.

AN 1165

References.

(Minutes.)

See minutes:

A.) Church of England Council on Foreign Relations No. O.C. 111.

D-A. LOGAN 2/4

F.O.R.D. - Miss Miller

Northern Dept/Russ.J.-28/4.

How does "Anastasy" fit in? (6(c) within). I was under the impression that Metropolitan Theophilus had won out over Met: Benjamin & that Moscow in fact recognised the autonomy of the North American church. Has it come unstuck? Perhaps Miss Mather would comment.

2/4

At the Cleveland Sobor in the autumn of 1946 a majority of the delegates, including Metropolitan Theophilus, voted for union with the Moscow Patriarchate provided the American Church were granted local autonomy, & decided to break their connection with the Karlovtsy Synod under Metropolitan Anastasy. Metropolitan Benjamin gracefully agreed to stand down. The majority however was largely composed of the clerical obey

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members of the Sobor; only a minority of the episcopate was in favour of reunion with Moscow.

It is these dissident bishops who are now trying to organise a Church party maintaining relations with Anastasy, though they seem optimistic to think they can do so and still remain in touch. Metropolitan Theophilus at one moment showed signs of regretting his first élan, appeared willing to receive Metropolitan Grigori of Leningrad as envoy from the Moscow Patriarchate. At the moment, however, things seem to have settled down again. In his Easter message in Moscow Patriarch Alexei stated: "With paternal love we have recently received members of our Church in America with their spiritual fathers, granting them freedom of Church structure in accordance with the conditions of their life".

B. Miller 15/4/47.

Oxford 21/4

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[O.C. 119.

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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Situation of Russian Orthodox Church in America

1. 16th Dec. 1946. (Novaya Zarya 1.1.47). Archbishop Vitaly. Confidential letter to priests referring to Cleveland decision.

> "We consider that it is now necessary for us to organize and strengthen our work. We propose to do this in the fold of the Metropolitanate as a special church party (current) similar to the way in which the Episcopalians have their "high and Low Church" and we shall not depart from ecclesiastical truth and its defence even if it became necessary for us to leave its body".

Vitaly wants to organize an opposition to Moscow group within the Church and appeals for support.

2. In answer to Metropolitan Theophilus' telegram of the resolution of the Cleveland Sobor to Patriarch Alexis, the Patriarch replied favourably adding that Metropolitan Gregory of Leningrad would be sent to arrange details. In the meantime, he added, concelebrations should be arranged with Metropolitan Benjamin. Patriarch Alexis' telegram was headed thus:

> USSR gut, jan. 24-1947. Moscow
> Metropolitan Theophilus
> Green St. S.F. Calif.

3. Resolution put by Metropolitan Theophilus on the Patriarchal Telegram:

> "1.27.47. This answer is unsatisfactory as it is also not conclusive and to carry any agreement or to set any conditions according to this matter is useless and also there is no sense in personal conversation with Metropolitan Gregory or anybody else from Moscow as a representative of the Patriarch once he is not free to speak independently but only via the U.S.S.R. Govt. I charge (you) to warn the Patriarch thus and beautiful words have little force and worth once they are uttered indefinitely.
>
> Metropolitan Theophilus."
> (Pubd. 31.1.47 & 1.2.47 in San Francisco.)

4. In New York on the same day in the newspaper "New Russian Word" under the title "Metropolitan Theophilus answers" the following was published:-

> "Your Holiness' telegram brought great joy. We were expecting an official Ukaz from your Holiness, confirming the autonomy of our church in North America as this was indicated in your telegram in my name. It is possible that then the mission of Metropolitan Grogory to America is not necessary as the details can be worked out by post. Nevertheless if your Holiness considers it essential to send Metropolitan Gregory from my point of view there is no objection and I believe that all questions will be settled in peace for the good and unity of the Church."

RECEIVED IN C.B.
JAN 1947
SENT TO DEP.

5. Novaya Zarya 1.2.1947.
"Novaya Zarya" asked the Soviet Vice Consul in San Francisco, V.V. Afanassiev, what the letters 'gut' mean. It appears that top priority telegrams always have government status and are therefore termed governmental. He also said:- "the contents of the telegram have no relation to the Soviet Government and, still less, proceed from it" !

6. Novaya Zarya 4.1.1947.

a) In all 14 Russian Orthodox bishops in America.

b) <u>3 bishops faithful to Theophilus</u>

1. Archbishop Leonty.
2. Bishop Benjamin (gone to Japan on mission).
3. Bishop John.

c) <u>5 Bishops faithful to Anastassy</u>

1. Archbishop Tikhon ** active Karlowczi
2. Archbishop Vitaly **
3. Archbishop Joasaph
4. Bishop Ieronium
5. Bishop Seraphim

d) <u>5 Bishops faithful to Moscow Patriarch.</u>

1. Metropolitan Benjamin.
2. Archbishop Adam.
3. Archbishop Makarius (Brooklyn)
4. Bishop Theodore
5. Bishop Antony.

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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Extract from "NOVAYA ZARYA" ("The New Dawn"), Russian Daily published in San Francisco, U.S.A., February 7th, 1947.

[Translated by a correspondent of the Council]

Interview with Metropolitan Nikolay Krutitsky.

A correspondent of the Soviet Informbureau has visited the Metropolitan Nikolay Krutitsky and had a conversation with him.

First question: As is well known, the Vatican Press is trying to impute to the Russian Orthodox Church a desire to subordinate the Orthodox Churches of other countries to itself. What is the truth about the mutual relations existing between the Russian Orthodox Church and other Orthodox Churches?

Answer: No Orthodox Church, the Russian included, has, nor can have, any power whatsoever over other Churches, neither on canonical nor historical grounds. The Orthodox Church as a whole, consists of autokephalous (independent) Churches which do not depend one upon another and which carry out their work amongst the faithful in the country where the Church is situated. Alone of all the Orthodox Churches, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople bears the title of Universal Church. But it is given to it by reason, not by reason of any sort of special position of that Church but for historical causes.

For a long time now, bonds of firm friendship have existed between the Russian Orthodox Church and other Orthodox Churches. In the family of Orthodox Churches the Russian Church has always enjoyed a position of honour and respect.

Reference follows to fact that students from many Orthodox countries studied in theological colleges in Russia, with special mention of the Patriarch Nicodim of Rumania who studied at Kiev Spiritual Academy.

The second World War in many ways destroyed the links binding the Russian Orthodox Church with other Orthodox Churches, but as soon as the valiant Soviet Army, for the victory of which the Russian clergy fervently prayed, liberated Russian soil from the Fascist uncleanness and helped other nations to throw off the yoke of the German ursurpers, the Russian Orthodox Church, following historical tradition, hastened to renew her friendship with the Orthodox Churches of the world founded upon heartfelt brotherhood and mutual respect. For the last two years the connections between the Russian Orthodox and other Churches have not only been revived but considerably strengthened, if one is to compare them with the pre-war period.

Reference follows to mutual visits of Orthodox hierarchs ending with the following sentence: "Moreover I underline the fact that no conversation was carried on nor could be carried on during these meetings about the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church must occupy a special dominant position amongst other autokephalous Orthodox Churches. The attempts of the Vatican Press to present the matter in such a way that the Russian Orthodox Church is attempting as it were to bring about the submission to itself of Orthodox Churches of other countries has no foundation whatsoever. This evident lying is intended as a means of shaking the firm unity existing between the Orthodox Churches which the Vatican does not like but we can observe only the opposite result.

The bonds between the Orthodox Churches are strengthened, friendships increase and all attempts of the enemies of Orthodoxy to shake this unity are from the start doomed to failure."

Second question: What, according to your opinion, is the reason for the enemies at the Vatican joining against the Orthodox Church?

Answer: The Vatican took up before the war and especially during the war the position of supporting Hitler, Mussolini and his followers. and openly supported the separate pro-Fascist elements [Ref. Archbishop Stepinac]. It cannot forgive the Orthodox Church for its support of progressive democratic principles and freedom-loving nations in their struggles with Fascism which has been demonstrated by a great number of facts.

Reference follows to the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church during the war in opposing aggression, etc., and to the collections made for patriotic purposes.

By all means in its power, the Serb Orthodox Church supported the Yugoslav national army led by Marshal Tito.

Reference follows to the Patriarch Gavrilo's imprisonment under the Nazis, and to the Rumanian Orthodox Church's support of the Government of Rumania, and also to similar support given by the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia to democratic forces.

It is quite understandable that the Vatican, which is a stronghold of reactionary powers, does not like all these facts. This is why it has frequent recourse to its favourite method of lying and slander and to bringing into disrepute the actions of the Orthodox Churches in all their gracious activities.

Third question: 1946 has finished. How would you characterise it as a stage in the life of the Orthodox Church?

Answer: I have already spoken about the strengthening of connections between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Churches of other countries.

The authority of the Orthodox Russian Church led by His Holiness the Patriarch Alexis of Moscow and All Russia, and its links with the people in the years of the patriotic War have given the opportunity to the majority of Russian Orthodox parishes and dioceses which had fallen away from her for a variety of reasons at various times, to return into the bosom of the Mother Church.

One ought to indicate, with reference to these facts, that the Orthodox Church of such countries as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which for canonical reasons do not exist independently and do not depend upon any autokephalous Church, by their own will and on the decision of diocesan conferences, have entered the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. Thus, in Czechoslovakia the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia has his Exarch. In Austria and in Hungary the Exarchate of the Moscow Patriarch for Central Europe has been organised. In Manchuria and China and Eastern Asia an Exarch has been created. It is a fact of enormous importance that during 1946 the Uniat Church in Western Ukraine was re-united with the Russian Orthodox Church.

So far as concerns the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R., during the past year, the law concerning freedom of conscience has continued during 1946 to strengthen its organisation. In particular a number of departments have been set up under the Holy Synod in Moscow which carry on the work of direction of the life of the Russian Orthodox Church in all directions - an educational committee which directs all the spiritual educational institutions in the U.S.S.R., a department of foreign relations, a missionary council, a committee for the direction of economic affairs.

In the past year the theological institute in Moscow has been reorganised as a spiritual academy. A similar academy has been opened in Leningrad and in various Soviet towns including Minsk, Saratov, Odessa and others, 12 spiritual seminaries have been created which prepare for the higher educational position of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R. has 64 bishops at the head of a diocese. In all the dioceses there are about 22,000 churches and 90 monasteries.

In 1946, after restoration, the shrine of Russian Orthodoxy, the famous Troitse-Sergeyeva Lavra, was opened. The Kiev Petcherskaya Lavra and the Potchaevskaya Lavra are open and at work. All these famous Russian monasteries survived from the Fascist usurpers.

Reference follows to the fact that collections for the war orphans continued during 1946, and to the great help shown to the Russian Orthodox Church by the Council concerning the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, set up by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. It helps to supply all those needs of the Orthodox Church, the satisfaction of which depends on the civil powers. As far as the inner organisation of the Church is concerned, the appointments, transfer of clergy and other questions are under the direction of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, and the Council does not interfere in these matters.

Thus as in the years of the patriotic war, the Russian Orthodox Church also now, with all its activities, strives to realise the solidarity of all believing people for the carrying out of the tasks which lie before all the Soviets in the post-war period.

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